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Jackie; George Moose asked that I provide him with some of my observations on this trip before the Rwanda and Burundi Operational Support Group Meeting in New York Friday the 21st. Could you make a copy for Brian and make sure George gets it today. Thanks Dick

George; These are some of my thoughts as a result of my trip to Rwanda and Burundi.

Rwanda: The war is not over. The Southwest is heating up which explains why the RFP is not allowing WFP food convoys to transit Rwanda for the camps in Goma. The RFP is legitimately concerned that with the arming and training of the FAR, militias and Interahamwe within or near the camps that the food is now feeding an army preparing to invade Rwanda. The arms deliveries and training for the former government forces is now an open concern among the international community, including NGOs, in Rwanda. There have been a number of cross-border incursions into Rwanda from Zaire in which RFA troops have been ambushed. This led to retaliation in Cyangugu last Friday and the incident the last two days involving an IDP camp at Kibuye.

The Human Rights Center in Kigali is a disaster. It has probably lost any credibility that it might have had. However, for the most part, it has been an unprofessional operation utilizing inexperienced and young monitors. Quite frankly it is an embarrassment to the international community. It is fast becoming another UN institution driven more by turf and empire-building than an instrument which could be helpful in Rwanda.

The most contention issue in Burundi right now is the decision by the WFP to reduce the IDP program from 600,000-800,000 beneficiaries to 230,000. The government is outraged and apparently has issued a humanitarian appeal to meet the needs of "starving IDPs" in the camps. This is a scandal beyond proportions. We have had an OFDA specialist going around the country looking at the conditions of the IDPs and what is happening with the Food. In his estimation there are no more than 60,000 to 80,000 IDPs who are vulnerable right now. The problem is that the Tutsi extremists have turned this into a business. Food is being ripped off and sold in the marketplace in such quantities that it is under cutting the prices the farmers are getting for their products. In other words the small farmer cannot even get the cost of producing some products because the market is flooded with stolen food. This plays into the hands of the Hutu extremists on the other side who now think the international community is in collusion with the Tutsi extremists by allowing profits to be made off aid that should only be available on an humanitarian basis. WFP is correct in reducing the eligible population and the USC should be aggressive in our support.

Rwanda: The U.S. and USAID are viewed very favorably by the government because we are seen as being more responsive with critical inputs than other donors. However, this is a country in which institutions have to be rebuilt

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from scratch and the donor community in general, and the World Bank in particular, have not been responsive in a timely fashion. As Vice President Kagame observed in our meeting, "help us create the mechanisms to operate a government and then hold us accountable. Holding us accountable before we have the institutional capacity to do so is getting the cart before the horse."

We, the USG, is completely out of synch on the human rights issue, and what drives the reality on the ground in Rwanda. I don't think most people in Washington understand the deep scars associated with the genocide. I visited two massacre sites this week and have talked to an awfully lot of people and people want justice. In the case of Rwanda, justice delayed will fast become justice denied. The people in the international community who were in Rwanda during and just after the genocide have a much better grasp of what drives the Rwandans today, then do the late comers. There has not been the retribution that one would have expected. Despite human rights problems, the abuses have been minimal when compared with the magnitude and brutality of the crimes committed in that country. The detentions and conditions of the prisons may be abominable under many circumstances. But if an individual is accused or fingered as a participant in genocide and not arrested then revenge killings will become the norm.

Finally, the international community has to agree to an overall strategic framework for helping to assist in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country. An example of the problems from this lack of a strategic, agreed upon framework, is in the justice area where 17 donors have said they want to operate. Yet, very little is happening because there are 17 different ideas about what kind of justice system is needed and where to begin.

the bottom line as a result of the trip is that the international community, which has failed to be more responsive, now needs to get down to the business of working with this government. As I told you over the phone, I am moderately optimistic about the situation and the government. I think putting out collective bets on this government holds out the chance that at a minimum impunity will end in this society and people will start being held accountable for their actions. This has never been the case since independence. The alternative is to continue with the present course, which I characterize as death by a thousand strokes, and then be ready to accept the consequences of another major blow up. The guys in Zaire and many in the refugee population are chomping at the bit to come back and finish the job. There is absolutely no remorse.

The Triage Commission is not functional because the basic institutions of justice at the local level have absolutely no resources or capability to determine who should be released and who should continue to be held. We would not need a triage commission if the donors would agree to support rehabilitating local offices, provide typewriters, desks, chairs, motorbikes or vehicles so investigators could function. We (USAID) are presently working on dealing with this problem now.

There is an awfully lot more to relate. But I need time to put it altogether in a coherent manner. This is just too much information for me to totally organize and assimilate right now.

I hope this was helpful.

Dick McCall